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/For recorded historical references to the Mbundu see category 116, pp. 181-188 and 190-215).

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PART ONE

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

121 *The object of Part One is (1) to describe the present social structure of the Ovimbundu, and (2) to suggest significant elements that this social structure has or may have for the programme of Christian missions among this people.*

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

127 122 HAD my historical survey revealed a detailed description of Umbundu social structure made at some former time, it would also be useful to make comparisons with the present state of affairs. Since there is no such witness out of the past, it is only possible to describe and analyse that which at present exists. For this purpose some excerpts from Umbundu narratives are presented and references made to certain folk-tales and proverbs. The basis of the analysis and description rests more especially, however, upon notes and impressions gathered in field-work over a period of years and upon a considerable number of genealogical tables and schedules of marriage arrangements.[1] These latter are referred to here only to a certain extent. I hope to treat these more fully later. The subject of marriage properly belongs to the field of social structure, but because of its importance I hope to devote a chapter to it. Only certain of the genealogical tables are presented fully and in their several aspects, while the others have served as basis and background for the whole of this part of the study.

565 175 The most significant historical allusion to the social structure of the Ovimbundu which I have found was an observation of Pinheiro de Lacerda about 1790. "These are they of the Highlands who are made up of two "systems" the one call themselves [266] "Quimbundos" (i.e. Ovimbundu), (these do not eat human flesh): the others are called "Quimbangalas" (i.e. the royal households of Imbangala stock), who eat it, and when they make their sacrifice, [782] at which all together attend, then all eat the "Makongo".[2]

[1] I have 190 of the former and 75 of the latter.

[2] *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 3a Ser., p. 488.

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Evidently royal persons could then be easily distinguished from the commoners.

The question naturally arises how far may a similar distinction be observed at the present time. The genealogical tables presented may answer the question. It may be seen that intermarriage of commoners and royalty has proceeded to such a degree that the differences have been greatly dimmed, if not quite erased. Furthermore, the loss of the political power which the royal families formerly held has levelled down distinctions until they have largely lost their meaning. This loss again has hastened the process of intermarriage with commoners. While there are some distinctive practices which persist, they may now pertain to or be practised by certain members of a family only, or in some instances, and not in others. These refer especially to inheritance and to the naming of children.

By 'social structure' is meant the more or less permanent framework of relationships between members of a community which manifests itself in an ordered group-life, with reciprocal rights and duties, privileges and obligations, of members, determining behaviour-patterns . . . and moulding the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of members according to these patterns, so that it is only in and through them that the individual can achieve his personal self-realization and participate in the satisfactions offered by the life of his community.

This framework of social organization, or social structure, is permanent compared with the stream of human lives that, in the succession of the generations, flows through it. Each new generation finds it there, as an inheritance from untold generations of his predecessors. Yet the framework of social structure is not absolutely rigid or fixed for all time, but is itself a thing of growth, capable of variation in detail, sometimes giving birth to new developments, at other times undergoing disintegration and decay.[1]

The genealogical tables which I have collected are fairly representative of the major divisions or 'tribes' of the Ovimbundu. The only 'tribes' not represented are those of the border regions of Namba, Sanga, Cikomba, and Kalukembe, none of which save the last are numerically important. These border groups themselves offer an interesting field of study and particularly in that they may provide cultural and linguistic bridges between the Ovimbundu and their neighbors.

[1] A. W. Hoernlé in Schapera, *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1937), p. 67 f.

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ones. This situation was reported by Magyar, when he wrote, 'Quibanda (should be Civanda) to the east has 500 villages. The Chief has great power. He sends tribute every year to the king of Bailundu but is himself fully independent.'[1] Magyar described about 15 *atumbu* or '*ovikandscho*',[2] as he called them, of Bailundu. He estimated the population of Bailundu at 450,000, and for all the kingdoms of the Ovimbundu 1,200,000,[3] figures which are probably not very different from present-day facts. The report and description of the 'Capitania de Benguella' in 1799 said that the king of Bailundu dominated 2,056 villages; the king of Viye, 886; and the king of Ngalangi, 900; and listed their 'feudos' respectively as 82, 54, and 78.[4] My list of the Ngalangi *atumbu* shows 112. In Bailundu about 20 *atumbu* were ruled by members of the royal family, including heirs apparent or expectant, and the queen (*Inakulu*), who also had her own establishment.[5] About 20 were ruled by other court officials.

Most of these *atumbu* are still recognized as such or as *olombala*.[6] Their decay has not been as great as that of the *ombala*[6] of their liege lord, for they still fulfil certain functions in native life. They have also been given new functions by the administrative authorities. The minor chiefs as well as village headmen are all required to assist in assessing and collecting the native tax, and also in recruiting labour for government works and for contracts. In some areas they receive in return the remission of their own taxes. In some areas they are required to wear uniforms. On the dancing floors of most of these minor *olombala* courts are still held, justice determined, and (to a limited extent) fines 'eaten'. Such judgements are not officially recognized or allowed by the European authorities. The African, however, often finds that European courts do not meet his needs or accord with his concepts of justice.

[1] Magyar, op. cit., p. 389.

[2] Umbundu *ovikanjo* (plural), 'branches', a term which through commercial or European influence is applied to the *atumbu*.

[3] For these figures and for descriptions of the several kingdoms, see Magyar, op. cit., chap. ix.

[4] *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 4a Ser., pp. 155 ff.

[5] Magyar, op. cit., p. 390.

[6] *Olombala*, plural of *ombala*, a capital village or chief's residence.

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PART THREE

CHAPTER XII

HISTORICAL

000 'HEUREUX les peuples qui n'ont pas d'histoire', quotes Father Van Wing in introducing his *Études Bakongo*, and having noted that the Kongo people 'had entered into history' in 1482 with the discovery of the River Congo.[1] It is very doubtful whether there are any people, however primitive, or however remote or inaccessible their dwelling, who could qualify for that blessed state. If this characterization means entering upon the stage of continuous contact with Europe and Europeans, it may mark a definite stage in the life of this people.

175 101 The Ovimbundu have not in this sense as old a 'history' as have the Kongo people. Their first contacts with Europeans probably took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries before their formation as a people—before they were Ovimbundu; but it was from the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century that they began to have regular and constant contacts which have continued with increasing frequency down to the present day.

Pre-History

172 The pre-history of the Umbundu country awaits competent investigation and should prove a fruitful field. Dr. Merlin W. Ennis has collected stone artifacts from several sites, but chiefly from Elende (twelve miles north of the railway station of Cuma), some of which have been placed in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, some in the Logan Museum of Beloit College (Wisconsin), and some in the National Museum of Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. These artifacts have been classified as similar to those of the Chellean culture.[2] The strata from which they

[1] R.P. Van Wing, S.J., *Études Bakongo* (Bruxelles: Goemaere, 1921), p. 1.

[2] For a description, see J. J. Williams, S.J., *Africa's God* (Boston College, 1937), V. Congo and Angola, p. 96; also W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (Field Museum, 1934), p. 207. Several Portuguese and Belgian writers have described stone artifacts found near the northern borders of Angola, comparing them with examples discovered at various sites in the Congo. See *Trabalhos do I° Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, Pôrto, 1934: J. R. Santos, Jr., 'Rui de Serpa Pinto e a arqueologia de Angola', pp. 433–51;

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172 fortified with loose stone walls built upon a great rock out-crop, projecting portions of which greatly reinforced the wall and made it unnecessary to build a complete circuit. The wall reached a height of nearly six feet in places. Inside the fortress, under an overhanging ledge of rock, I picked up fragments of pottery evidently of Umbundu make, and also pieces of wine jug of the type used by the Portuguese for *vinho verde*. The dry season had just begun and the growth of grass in the ruin was very rank so that it was not possible to make a systematic search for other vestiges of former occupation. Across the valley, at the village of Ndumba, I found an old man seeming to be about sixty-five or seventy years of age, who declared that he had himself helped to build the walls of Usengo in his youth 'before he had married'. He said that they had fortified the place against the exactions of Soma[1] Saviti of Kasongi; that three chiefs had ruled in it,[2] and that the reason for moving was lack of nearby supplies of water and of earth to daub the walls of the huts, the village site being solid rock. This, he said, was all during the reign of Saviti and before the end of the rubber trade, which fixes it approximately between the dates 1890 and 1910. The largest of the three ruins on the slopes of Elende, mentioned by Hambly and by E. W. Smith,[3] is the subject of a legend recounted by Elende villagers which ascribes its building to Ovimbundu or their immediate predecessors. The most detailed and circumstantial report of the building and occupancy of one of these ruins is found in an account of [175] the campaign of 1774–6, in which Portuguese troops and native allies fought the kings of Bailundu (*Baylundo*) and Cingolo (*Quingolo*), and their allies.[4] The map of this campaign,[5] drawn in 1776, contains an inset representing a plan of the fortification alluded to, which, according to the report,[6] was too strong to be taken and was beseiged until the defenders fled by night, when it was entered, sacked, and thrown down, which last operation occupied nearly two months. Further evidence that the Ovimbundu were using stone-walled fortresses during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is found in the fact that the Portuguese reports of these periods generally allude to the forti-

[1] King or Chief.
[2] (1) Ekulika, the builder; (2) Ukelengenje; and (3) Satutu, who moved out.
[3] See *supra*, p. 165, n. 2.
[4] *Annaes do Cons. Ultr.*, loc. cit.
[5] Op. cit., facing p. 518.
[6] Op. cit., p. 520 f.; and especially *Catalogo dos Governadores*, pp. 423 ff.

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came to the region of Ndulu and wished to settle but could not (i.e. without permission), since they were strangers and newcomers. Thereupon a certain elder of the country, Kakoko by name, caused them to build, first at Ngumba and later at Ndulu-yolosima. Their two sons fought for the succession: Cikolongonjo won and set about to consolidate his position by conquering the va Luimbi, who then left the country. He also won over the region of Kapeyo (*Capeio*), although not by force of arms but through trickery,[1] or superior knowledge. The sixth in the succession and a great-grandson of Katekula-Mengo was Kakulukusu, who, it is said, was a nephew[2] of Cingi I of Bailundu, and was also taken to Luanda when the latter was imprisoned. Historical records show that this was at the end of the campaign of 1774–6.[3] It is chiefly this historical connexion which leads me to place the beginning of Cikolongonjo's rule at about 1680. With regard to the migration of Katekula-Mengo and Ukungu, it seems reasonable to advance the hypothesis that its immediate cause may have been the prolonged wars between the Portuguese and the kingdom of Angola, which ended in 1671 with the taking of the royal residence in the rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo and its conversion into a presidio. The highland country of Ndulu offered a remote and peaceful refuge.

The Bailundu tradition states that when Katiavala came from Cipala (*Quibala*), he settled in Mbonga and came to visit Mbulu whose village on the capital hill had at first been built only as a hunter's camp, but, largely by reason of its strategical location, had become, or was becoming, the capital of Bailundu. Mbulu gave Katiavala his daughter to wife, which indicates that Mbulu had also come from the same northern stock. There was a good opportunity when Mbulu and his people were away on a hunt, and Katiavala with his followers occupied the capital, while Mbulu

[1] Kapeyo was ruling over the region now called after him. When Cikolongonjo demanded that he submit, Kapeyo agreed only if he should lose in the *elembe* test, which is used in the dry season by putting out cloths by night to find which will be wet in the morning. In this case they left the *alembe* (pl.) out while they went on a hunt, but on returning Cikolongonjo's *elembe*, which was a kerchief, was wet with the spiritual blessing, whereas Kapeyo's, which was paper (since he evidently had not known the difference) was quite destroyed. Kapeyo, having lost, left the country and settled in Viye. It is significant to find articles of European manufacture mentioned in this tradition, which is one of the oldest of Umbundu records; also to note that the invaders from the north were already familiar with such things while the local inhabitants were not.

[2] Cingi was *inanu* (mother's brother) to Kakulukusu.

[3] See historical chart *infra*, p. 224 f.

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SYNCHRONIZED CHART OF THE PORTUGUESE HISTORY OF

DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
1482	Diogo Cão discovers the Congo.
1485–6	Diogo Cão's second voyage.
1490–1	Embassy to King of Kongo and Franciscan Mission.
1560	First expedition to Kingdom of Angola under Dias de Novaes.
1568	'Jagas' overrun Kingdom of Kongo.
1575	Luanda founded by Dias de Novaes and Jesuits.
1590	'Jagas' allied with Angola and Matamba defeat Portuguese.
From 1600	Some 'Jagas' allies of Portuguese, others met south of Kuanza and on Benguela Coast.
1617	Benguela founded.
1620	Hinterland forbidden to traders save *pombeiros descalços*.
1640–8	Dutch hold Luanda, Benguela, &c.; Portuguese hold Massangano.
From 1645	Raids from Massangano across Libolo to and across Keve River and to Bailundu.
From 1660	Raids inland from Benguela find some natives using fire-arms.
1671	End of Kingdom of Angola; presídio at Pungu-a-Ndongo.
1680	One million slaves exported since 1576 (Cadornega). First Caconda Fort founded in Hanha.
1685	Second Caconda Fort rebuilt nearby; many attacks on this fort and on nearby natives by native kings from interior.
1718	Further attacks on Caconda and its neighbours; king of 'Gallangue' captured and exiled; his successor said to have become vassal of Portugal. (Delgado.)
1760	Expulsion of Jesuits.
1769	Third Caconda fort built, on present site; presídio of Novo Redondo founded; various 'towns' ordered established in Benguela hinterland and Captains-major named. Formal prohibition of hinterland to traders removed.
1770–1	J. J. Rodrigues (first) Captain-major of Bihe.
1774	Great military campaign from Luanda and from Benguela against Bailundu, Cingolo, Ciyaka, &c.
1776	Return of military forces; *ango* of Bailundu and two nephews captured.
1778	Kangombe baptized as 'Antonio de Vasconcellos' in Luanda and restored to stool of Viye with Governor's help.
1782	J. Gregorio de Freitas, Captain-major of Bihe.

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OCCUPATION AND OF THE TRADITIONAL
THE OVIMBUNDU

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NATIVE TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND THE UMBUNDU ROYAL SUCCESSIONS

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'Kinguri' leaves Lunda to seek new home; his subsequent wanderings (Magyar).

Traditional origins of the Imbangala, of the Songo; in 'Libolo', in 'Quibala', &c. (Dias de Carvalho; Ferreira Diniz, &c.).

Ngalangi tradition of Feti the First, who found his wives in the reeds, and how they became the mothers of many peoples.

Wambu-Kalunga, the cannibal chief, founder of Wambu, progenitor of Ciyaka, Cingolo, Citata, Kalukembe, &c.

Ndulu tradition of Katekula-Mengo, elephant-hunter, who left imprints in the rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo.

Katiavala from the north, comes to Bailundu.

Viye and Kahanda.

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	Ciyaka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1650	Cilūlū I (*Cihumbe*)[5]				
	Kapango				
		Cikolongonjo			
	Atende I				
	Ukolongonjo I	Kavelavela	Mbulu (*Cilicu*)[5]		
1700	Ndumbu I (*Konya-ya-Cipemba*)[5]	Etande	Katiavala I Njahulu		
	Luanjangombe I	Cibuaya	Somandalu	(Kasenje)[3]	Viye
	Mukuku	Cingi		(Cibongo)[3]	(Civava)[3]
1730	Cilūlū II				(Ndalu)[3]
	Handa I	(Ndulu)[7]	Cingi I[1] c. 1760–76	Ndumba Viseco	Ulundu
	Ngalangi				
	Katutu I	Kakulukusu[1]			
					Eyambi
					Njilahulu
1775	Ndumbu II				
			(*Cilicu*)[5]		
	Kanutumulua				Kangombe[1] 1778–c.1795
	Kamela			Mulunda	
	Ukolongonjo II	Lumanyula			

For notes see page 231.

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
1795	Mello and Teixeira, third journey to 'Loval' via Bailundu and Viye.
1808–15	First recorded crossing of Africa (via Lunda, not Viye) by two *pombeiros*.
1817	Native wars in Benguela hinterland.
1819	João Nepomuceno Correia, Captain-major of Bihe.
1823–5	'Golden Age of Slave Trade'—average annual export 11,457 (Lopes de Lima).
1832–8	First export of new products: gum copal and orchilia.
1834	Abolition of royal monopoly in ivory.
1836	Formal abolition of slave trade, but enforcement held up for many years, owing to feeling in the colony.
1837	Lt. Sandoval in Bailundu, whence he describes native life.
1838	F. J. Coimbra, Captain-major of Bihe.
1840	Silva Porto reaches Bihe, coming from Luanda.
1844	Ports of Luanda and Benguela opened to foreign shipping; Prize Court in Luanda to implement suppression of slave trade.
1845	Presídio of Huila founded.
1846	Expedition of J. R. Graça to Lunda, passes through Viye.
1849–57	Ladislau Magyar in Viye.
1852	Silva Porto opens 'new road' from Viye to coast via Bailundu and Balombu (Civula).
1853	'Arabs' in Benguela, coming overland from Zanzibar. Livingstone meets Silva Porto and parties of 'Mambari' (Ovimbundu) at Naliele on the Zambezi.
1854	Livingstone meets 'Mambari' near Golungo Alto, visits Luanda, and returns to Zambezi valley and east coast.
1856–7	Attacks on southern presídios. Great attack on Huila by Ciyaka, Cingolo, Kalukembe, &c.
1865	Slaves now called freedmen (*libertos*) and apprenticed to their masters.
1869	First (experimental) export of rubber.
1870	Silva Porto leaves Viye for Benguela because of exactions of King Cilemo. Export of slaves to Americas now stopped; many sent to local plantations (Bastos).
1875	Lt. Cameron passes through Viye, Bailundu, &c., and reaches coast.
1878	Serpa Pinto, Capello, and Ivens in Caconda and in Viye. Great trading activity in Bailundu and in Viye.
1879–81	Trek Boers who left Transvaal in 1876 settle at Humpata.
1879	Silva Porto returns to Viye and goes on to 'Moyo'.
1880	Bagster, Sanders, and Miller land at Benguela (November), reach Bailundu following March to open W.C.A. Mission of A.B.C.F.M.
1882	Rubber takes second place in exports (after wax).

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UMBUNDU ROYAL SUCCESSIONS

	Civaka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1795	Atende II				Kawewe
	Cikoko I	Cindele	Ekuikui I Numa I Hundungulu	Kambuenge	Moma (*Vasoveva*)[2]
	Kuvombo-inene				
	Ndumbu III	Mbundi	Cisende I Njunjulu Ngungi	Ndumba II (*Cihongo*)[2]	
1835	Handa II (*Kaciyombo*)[2]		Civukuvuku[3]		Mbandua[3] 1833–9
			Utondosi		Kakembembe[3] (*Hundungulu*)[2] 1839–42
1842	Njimbi[4] 1842–50	Siakalembe	Mbonge[3] 1842–61	Ndumba III[3] (*Epope Kateyavi-lombo*) *c.* 1844–*c.* 1860	Liambula[3] 1842–7
1850	Canja I[4] (*Luanjangambe III*)[2] 1850–70				Kayangula[3] 1847–50 (Mukinda[2]) 1850–7[3]
1857		Lusase			Nguvenge[3] 1857–9
				Etumbu Lutate	Konya Cilemo[3] 1860–83
1861			Cisende II[3] 1861–9 Vasovava[3] 1869–72		
1870	Njundo[4] 1870–98	Elundu Civava[4] *c.* 1870–*c.* 1890			
			Ekongo-liohombo[3] 1872–6		
1875			Ekuikui II[3] 1876–93	Ndumbu[3]	
1880					Ciponge[3] (*Njambayamina*)[2] 1883–6

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
175 173 1884	Sanders opens Kamundongo station in Viye; Mission expelled from Bailundu by King Ekuikui upon a trader's misrepresentation; Mission appeals to Gov.-Gen. at Luanda; Arnot's arrival at Bailundu influences Ekuikui; Mission invited to return.
1885	Silva Porto, Captain-major of Bihe.
1886	Ovimbundu traders discover new source of rubber—more easily available and more abundant: great boom begins.
1887	Rubber takes first place in exports.
1888	Occupation of Congo by 'Free State' stops ivory trade. Currie opens Canadian Congregational station at Chissamba.
1890	King Ndunduma orders Paiva Couceiro's expedition out of Viye; suicide of Silva Porto. Punitive expedition under Artur de Paiva occupies Viye and receives surrender of king. Roman Catholic mission opened at Caconda. Plymouth Brethren begin work at Kuanjulula (Viye).
1891	Teixeira da Silva begins military occupation of Bailundu. Many traders arrive for settlement in Bailundu and in Viye.
1892	R.C. 'Mission of Bihe' opened at Kacingi (outside Umbundu area).
1895	R.C. Mission station of Bailundu opened.
1896	King Numa attacks Bailundu Fort.
1897	Mission Philafricaine (Swiss) opens station in Kalukembe.
1899	Peak of rubber trade.
1900	Slump in rubber trade; no more ivory (A. Bastos).
1902–3	Revolt in Bailundu put down and remaining Umbundu regions soon occupied.
1904	Benguela Railway begins construction at Lobito. Rubber slump aggravated by debasing product. W.C.A. Mission opens Cileso (Ndulu) Station.
1906	W.C.A. Mission opens Elende (Ciyaka) Station.
1908	R.C. Mission station of Huambo (Wambu) opened.
1910	The Republic proclaimed in Portugal; worst abuses of contract labour abolished; civil administration begins to replace military in interior. Benguela Ry. reaches Cuma; porterage to coast gradually ends.
1912	Gen. Norton de Matos, Governor-General.
1914	W.C.A. Mission opens Currie Institute, normal and training school for young men.
1915	German forces take Portuguese forts on southern border; Portugal enters war against Germany. Benguela Ry. reaches Chinguar (edge of Viye) and suspends construction.
1916	W.C.A. Mission opens Means School for training of young women.
1917	Bailundu troops used to quell Sele revolt.
1919	Gen. Norton de Matos, High Commissioner; period of many public works and of much road-building activity (until about 1930).
1921	Decree 77 severely limits teaching and use of vernaculars. Beginning of currency devaluation with great fluctuations.
1922	Benguela Ry. resumes construction. Galangue (Ngalangi) mission station opened by representatives of coloured Congregational churches of the U.S.
1924	Seventh Day Adventists open work in Mbongo.

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	Ciyaka	Ndulu	Bailundu	Ngalangi	Viye
1885					Ciyoka[3] 1886–8 Cikunyu[3] (*Ndunduma*)[8] 1888–90
1890		Civango		Ekumbi	Kalufele
			Katievala II[3] 1893–5		
1895			Numa II[3] 1895–6	Cihonga II	Kaninguluka
		Cipati	Hundungulu Kalakata	Ciyo	
	Cibilo III[3] 1898–1904				
1900		Cisululu Kasuanje	Kalandula		
		Siekanjimba	(Mutu-ya Kevela) [3, 7] 1903		Ciyuka[4] 1901–3 Kavova[4] 1903–15
1904	Handa III[4] 1904–11	Ndingilinya	Cisende III[3] 1904–11		
		Sihinga Congolola		Cipala	
1910					
	Amado III[4] 1911–15		Njahûlo[4] 1911–35		
1915	Cikoko[4] 1915–18				Ngungu[4] 1915–28
		Cisokolua		Kangombe	
1920	Cibilo IV[4] 1920–5			Ngangwe	
				Cuvika	

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
1926	'Corporative Régime' gains power in Portugal, May 28; Roman Catholics given large government subsidies and many advantages; they open many new mission stations from this time on.
1927	United Church of Canada takes over part of work of W.C.A.M. Umbundu Church of Christ organized to include work of three Protestant Missions.
1928	Currency conversion with 25 per cent. devaluation. Angola Boers return to Damaraland. Mission Philafricaine opens Evanga (Ganda) station.
1929	Completion of Benguela Ry. to frontier.
1929–30	First ordinations in Umbundu Church of Christ.
1930	W.C.A. Mission celebrates Jubilee with attendance of 12,000 Africans, many Europeans, and deputations from abroad.
1931	Completion of Katanga Ry., making connexion across Africa; opening of through traffic. Portuguese Baptists open small work at Nova Lisboa.
1935	Provincial Exposition at Nova Lisboa.
1938	H.E. President Carmona of Portugal visits Colony.
1939	World War II, Portugal neutral.
From 1941	Rapid rise of prices, rise in wages less marked.
1945–6	Visit of Minister of Colonies includes Protestant Missions.
1946	West Central Africa Regional Conference, Léopoldville, Congo Belge: African and European delegates from French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies.

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	Ciyaka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1925				Cikuteknole	
	Handa IV[4] (*Kalumbombo*)[5] 1926–8	Cihopio[4] d. 1935			
				Mbumba-Kambuakatepa	
					Ciyuka[4, 6] 1928–40
	Sakulanda[4] (*Luanjangombe IV*)[5] 1929–39				
1930					
				Cingelesi[4] 1931–3	
				Ndumbu II[4] 1933–5	
1935		(Sangombe Esita)[7] 1935–	Musita[4] 1935–8	Congolola[4] 1935–	
			Cinendele[4] 1938–		
	Cilili V[4] 1939–40				
1940	Tomasi[4] 1940–				

NOTES

[1] Dates fixed by agreement of native tradition with historical reference.
[2] These names mentioned by European writers; native tradition with reference to them not known.
[3] Dates fixed from historical reference.
[4] Dates from native sources.
[5] Tradition mentions a solar eclipse during this reign, which would be 1886 or 1889.
[6] This is the same king as the one listed for 1901–3: he reigned twice.
[7] The names in parentheses are of men not of royal lines and not regularly enthroned, but usurpers, war leaders, or 'guarders of the stool'.
[8] The italicised names in parentheses after the names of certain kings are appelatives which they took on assuming office.

EARLY HISTORY

175 The earliest records of native migration in what is now Angola concern the warrior hordes of Jagas (Jaggas, Jakas, Iaggas, Giaghis, Giaki, Ayaka etc.), who from about 1560 onwards were reported in north-western Angola and the adjacent Kingdom of Congo.(1) Various attempts have been made to identify the Jagas. Van Wing(2) and Torday(3) hold that the name is derived from the Bayaka tribe on the middle Kwango; Battell's account would seem to identify them with the Bangala (Imbangala) of Jaga Cassange, who are known to have been invading western Angola at this time. Childs points to suggestive links of the Jagas with Ovimbundu dynasties: e.g. the Ciyaka group of Ovimbundu, who recognise the region of Cassange as the location of their earliest ancestral tombs. He also shows that certain Jaga customs as described by the earlier writers resemble those connected with Ovimbundu kingship. Childs suggests that the name *Jaga* (which seems to derive from the verb "to fight" -oku yaka; "they fight" = a yaka or vayaka) was originally a name given to these hordes or to their leaders by the African peoples whom they fought and conquered.(4)

175 177 [021] European contacts with the people of the Benguella Highland took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before the migrations had settled down. Dutch and Portuguese raids took place in 1645, 1650 and 1661, and since fire-arms appear to have been used at that time by the Africans, it seems likely that Umbundu dynasties had them when they came into the region.(5) In 1769 the throwing open of the hinterland to European traders(6) led to greatly increased commercial contact, and this in turn gave rise to wars between the native rulers and the Portuguese. In 1774-6 a war was fought between the Portuguese and their native allies and the kings of Bailundu and Cingolo. Ciyaka and neighbouring kingdoms continued to raid the European garrisons until recent times, and Europeans appear not to have penetrated Ciyaka until almost the turn of the present century.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OVIMBUNDU TRADE

175 439 There are indications that before the end of the eighteenth century the Ovimbundu were becoming, or had become, traders. The slave-trade was formally prohibited in 1836,(7) and subsequently European traders began to move inland in greater numbers in search of ivory, settling especially in Bailundu and Viye. This began a period of great commercial development among the Ovimbundu, the principal commodities being ivory, beeswax, and, in the third quarter of the century, rubber.(8) Trading caravans of the Ovimbundu (under the names *Mambari*, *Eiheans*, *Bailundus*, or *Mbundus*) became

(1) See especially Battell, pp.19f. (2) 1921, p.106.
(3) 1925, map facing p.282. (4) Childs, op.cit., pp.185-6. (5) Ibid., p.195.
(6) Entry of European traders to the hinterland had been forbidden by law in 1620, although the law had become largely a dead letter.
(7) Although contraband slave-trade continued until late in the nineteenth century, the slaves being used for the transport of ivory and other goods from the hinterland to the coast.
(8) These were at first one-way agreements, allowing Ovimbundu to trade in many lands, since it was to the advantage of the rulers of these countries. The Ovimbundu are said in fact to have discouraged the tribes to the east from venturing out on their own account. See Livingstone 1857, p.394, Cameron 1877, p.406.

known throughout the territory bounded by the Congo river, the Great Lakes, and the Kalahari desert. Most other Ovimbundu kingdoms fell into line with the trading activities of Bailundu and Viye. By the middle of the century this had resulted in a loose system of alliances and mutual understandings to the effect that the traders and caravans of each kingdom would be permitted to enter or travel through the others. At time these "trade-agreements" seem to have embraced all the Umbundu-speaking peoples, but violations were frequent, especially between Viye and the Ciyaka-Cingola-Citeta group. Trade-agreements were also made beyond the Umbundu-speaking area, e.g. with the Mwata Yamvo of the Lunda.(1)

From roughly the turn of the twentieth century the large-scale trading activities of the Ovimbundu declined. Military occupation of Viye and Bailundu took place in 1890, and from that date European traders began to settle in Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers. In 1902 the Bailundu war occurred, after which the occupation of the whole of Umbundu country was quickly completed. This campaign paralysed trade, which was already suffering because of a great fall in rubber prices. Other factors which hastened the decline of Ovimbundu trading activities(2) include the famine in Ngangela country in 1911, the disappearance of illicit slave-traffic, and, finally, the building of the Benguella Railway (commenced in 1904), which put an end to the porterage and trading caravans of former days.(3)

LANGUAGE

"Umbundu is usually(4) associated with Ambo, Herero and kindred languages. It would however seem that more comparative study is required to show how real this apparent relationship is: it appears to be especially based on the fact that Umbundu uses prefixial o- with many of its noun classes. In general structure, however, Umbundu shows remarkable similarity in grammar and vocabulary to Luena, Luchazi and other languages of the Ganguella [Ngangela] group.

Features of Umbundu which are worthy of note are:-

i. Presence of nasal vowels before and after 'l', 'h', 'v' and 'w'.

ii. In certain nasal compounds, subtraction occurs, involving the second consonant, but not the nasal, e.g. mutu is realised as cutu.

iii. Compared with the Lunda-Luena languages Umbundu exhibits an unusually large number of defective verbs.

iv. A vowel system of five vowels.

(1) These were at first one-way agreements, allowing Ovimbundu to trade in many lands, since it was to the advantage of the rulers of these countries. The Ovimbundu are said in fact to have discouraged the tribes to the east from venturing out on their own account. See Livingstone 1857, p.394, Cameron 1877, p.406.
(2) For much greater detail concerning the rise and fall of Ovimbundu trade see Childs op.cit., pp.191-215.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Doke 1945, p.181; Guthrie 1948, p.64; Childs 1949, p.8.

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III. HISTORICAL SOURCES

175 The object of this chapter is the presentation of a summary of
173 literature relating to Angola from A.D. 1500 down to the present
167 day. In this literature there may be accounts of the movements of tribes which will throw some light on the origin of the Ovimbundu, and the date of their migration into the Benguela Highlands. Present-day tradition of the Ovimbundu is unanimous in declaring that the tribe came from the northeast of its present locality, but some
[101] historical justification of this belief is desirable. The word Ovimbundu ("people of the fog") may refer to the heavy morning mists of highland regions, and there is the possibility that the Ovimbundu adopted this name when they settled on the high plateau.

121 If there is historical evidence in favor of the traditional home of the Ovimbundu being the region of the north and northeast of Angola, what was the ethnological background of these areas at the time when the Ovimbundu became detached from a matrix of northern Angolan tribes? In other words, what cultural factors are the Ovimbundu likely to have brought with them into the Benguela Highlands? The ultimate origin of these factors is a point which has not been neglected (chapter XI, "Wider Culture Contacts"), but for the moment the primary concern is the historical background of the Ovimbundu, with special reference to tribal movements and cultural traits.

As part of this historical inquiry, contacts of the Portuguese and the Ovimbundu are of importance. When and where did the Portuguese come into contact with the Ovimbundu and with what results to the indigenous culture?

127 Chapters IV–IX deal exclusively with my field work among the Ovimbundu in 1929. Therefore it is pertinent to ask to what extent the ethnological observations of travelers and early explorers will corroborate the information recorded in my own notes. Will there be contradiction or confirmation of personal observations? Possibly the ethnological notes obtained from historical sources will serve, not merely to corroborate my field work, but actually to extend the area of occurrence of important cultural traits which I noted in 1929.

The literature describing Angolan history and customs is here presented in the form of a chronological bibliography, which is annotated so as to emphasize points bearing on the purpose of this historical analysis. That there should be a fragmentary presentation of data is an inevitable consequence of the nature of the literature

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itself. Observations have been made, not in a well-ordered time sequence, but at irregular intervals. Moreover, the writings of the majority of observers have not been undertaken with any specific ethnological purpose in view. Early explorers in particular were prone to intersperse historical and ethnological notes among a mass of descriptive material relating to incidents of travel, animal life, and meteorological observations. 127

At the conclusion of this chapter an effort is made to remedy the disjointed nature of the historical evidence. This object is achieved by summarizing the points which provide an answer to the queries brought forward in the opening paragraphs of this chapter respecting the origin and cultural background of the Ovimbundu.

The Portuguese entered the Congo in 1482 under the leadership of Diego Cão (E. G. Ravenstein, The Voyages of Diego Cão, *Geog. Journ.*, 1900, pp. 625–649) and from that time onward Portuguese influence of a political and religious kind was exerted along the course of the Congo. Gradually the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Angola. Paolo Diaz founded Loanda in 1576, and about eleven years later built the fort of Benguela. 175

The year 1590 saw the Portuguese making war in the interior of Angola against the Jaggas, a northern tribe among whom Andrew Battell was held in honorable captivity as a leader against the Portuguese and all natives of northern Angola, who were exploited by the Jaggas. In 1645 another Portuguese punitive expedition penetrated the interior as far as Bailundu, the center from which the strongest caravans of Umbundu traders and slavers set out for central Africa.

Caconda in the southwest of Angola was founded in 1682, and a century later the coastal town of Mossamedes became a starting point from which early exploration penetrated the interior in search of the sources of the Cunene River. (For the details of Portuguese penetration of Angola see Bibliography: T. E. Bowditch; R. F. Burton; E. G. Ravenstein; T. Lewis.)

When the Portuguese landed at the mouth of the Congo at the close of the fifteenth century they came into contact with the kingdom of Congo, ruled with great pomp and ceremony at Ambassa, about 150 miles inland, and identical with the São Salvador of the Portuguese. The old kingdom of Congo was made up of six strong clans of whose rivalry the Portuguese took advantage to strengthen their own commercial and political position. The slave trade was considered to be as respectable as it was lucrative, and there is no doubt

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175 that the Church participated actively (T. Lewis, The Old Kingdom of Kongo, *Geog. Journ.*, 1908, pp. 598–600).

Political influence of the Portuguese, working often through the agency of Jesuit priests, led to factions within the Congo Empire, and the resulting disturbances caused movements of peoples that affected the whole of northern Angola and the population of the Benguela Highlands.

Portuguese penetration of the hinterland of Angola, especially from Loanda to Bihé, was concerned with attempts to subjugate native tribes, the establishment of trading posts, and the encouragement of the slave trade (S. Marquardsen, Angola, 1928, pp. 6–10).

459 721 The value of the Portuguese as allies of Umbundu caravans from Bihé lay in their ability to supply guns and powder to their native henchmen, who gave something more than military service in return. In response to Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory, Umbundu caravans made long journeys into the Congo basin, Rhodesia, south and southwest Angola, and possibly across Africa to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The arms supplied in exchange for ivory and slaves must have helped the Ovimbundu in all their predatory excursions.

648 Thus the Ovimbundu were, in the early centuries of contact with the Portuguese, invaders encouraged in the building up of their tribal life and resources. Never were the Portuguese strong enough completely to subjugate northern Angola. Relationships with natives, especially the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, were directed toward alliances on a commercial basis. The political result of this was a combination of the Portuguese and the stronger tribes for the exploitation of the weaker.

167 177 The historical ethnology of the southwest Congo is so complex that the elements are difficult to disentangle. The number of tribes concerned is great, and their movements are not easy to follow; but a gradual extension of people from the Congo in a southwesterly direction through Lunda to the Benguela Highlands (1600–1800) seems to be the summation of all the conflict. I regard the Ovimbundu as the most southerly branch of these mass movements, during which they received a discipline that enabled them to make their home in central Angola, despite opposition from the Portuguese and earlier arrivals.

114 For these conclusions reliance has been placed on the extensive field work and historical analyses of E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, whose "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bambala" (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXV, pp. 398–426) have proved of particular value in this connection.

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174 171 there is tribal and cultural miscegenation. Both Umbundu and Vachokue languages are spoken; boys of Ngalangi were seen to wear [281] initiation costumes similar to those worn at Cangamba by the Vachokue, but on proceeding farther westward into territory exclusively occupied by the Ovimbundu, such initiation ceremonies are either absent or attenuated in ritual.

144 101 Elende, one center of research among the Ovimbundu, represents the purest Umbundu speech and culture observable at the present day. But in chapter IV some physical resemblance of the Ovimbundu to the Vachokue is noted. Warfare commonly resulted in the taking of slaves, a fact which might account for an apparent infusion of Vachokue blood in some of the Ovimbundu.

174 167 The historical data suggest a northern or northeastern starting point of Umbundu migrations. Therefore an inquiry into the ethnology of these areas will be useful in showing the kind of culture with which the Ovimbundu were in contact before their settlement in the Benguela Highlands. If historical sources disclose the nature of northern Angolan culture from the year A.D. 1500 onward, such evidence can then be considered in relation to cultural traits of the Ovimbundu at the present day.

The establishment of strong cultural resemblances between extant Umbundu culture and older cultural patterns of northern Angola, would tend to strengthen the evidence of history respecting the northern origin of the Ovimbundu.

131 174 The regions dealt with in the following summary of ethnological facts are the Cabinda Enclave to the north of the Congo estuary, the region of San Salvador, the hinterlands of Loanda and Benguela, and the area of northern Angola between Lat. 7° and 9° S. and Long. 13° to 22° E. This covers the whole area with which the Ovimbundu are likely to have been in contact before entering their present home.

175 101 My survey begins with the observations of Andrew Battell in 1596. His account deals mainly with the northwestern part of Angola, a country bordering on and actually including territory now occupied by the Ovimbundu, who in all probability came in contact with the Jaggas, whose habits of life are described by Battell.

Torday and Joyce identify the Jaggas with the present-day Bapuku, whose cultural resemblances to the Ovimbundu are examined later. In my opinion, the Jaggas correspond well with the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, an itinerant and exceedingly warlike people.

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As early as 1600 there were cattle as far north as Benguela, and the Jaggas regarded these as a most valuable part of their plunder. Palms are a characteristic part of the vegetation of Angola north of the Benguela Highlands. Evidently the Jaggas moved extensively in northern Angola because they cut down palms for making wine (Battell, p. 30). The usual method is to tap the top of a standing tree, but the Jaggas were an itinerant people who did not cultivate palms.

Sprinkling the blood of sacrificed animals on a newly kindled fire I have mentioned in connection with Umbundu rites celebrating the founding of a new village. The Jaggas carried out this ceremony before a raiding expedition, when cows and other animals were sacrificed (Battell, p. 33). Battell mentions the use of red *tukula* wood for personal decoration. This wood (*Pterocarpus tinctorius*) is used in many parts of Angola at the present time.

Reference to Battell confirms the information given to me in relation to an old iron gong obtained at Ngalangi. He says (p. 20), "The general did strike his gong, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice."

Battell reported that the Jaggas wore beads of ostrich eggshell. Ravenstein, the editor of this volume in the Hakluyt Series, seems to doubt this statement, saying, "There are no ostriches in Angola, and as to beads made of ostrich eggs I can give no explanation." I noted the presence of captive ostriches in southern Angola as far north as Gamboa. The Vakuanyama women greatly value their long necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads. Necklaces made in the north of Angola are traded to the south and conversely, each kind of necklace having a high value due to remoteness of origin. This instance, like many other points, confirms the reliability of Battell's observations in Angola.

Father Jerome Merolla (1682) describes the poison ordeal which was used from the Congo estuary to San Salvador (Churchills' Voyages, II, p. 675). "The aforesaid oath is administered to the supposed traitor by a sort of wizard, who, making a certain composition out of the juices of herbs, serpent's flesh, pulp of fruits, and divers other things, gives it to the supposed delinquent to drink. If guilty (as they tell you) he will immediately fall down in a swoon or trembling to the ground." The marimba was used, and a double iron gong was carried before a chief and struck by an attendant.

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175 171 [412] O. Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 369) shows a scene in which an ax, such as I obtained from the Vaseie country, is being used for beheading a slave.

[325] [534] Cavazzi (Istorica descrizione, etc., Bologna, 1687) describes the three kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and northern Angola. The poison ordeal, the scapegoat, the blacksmith's bellows (pp. 101, 170) are all traits known to the Ovimbundu. The musical instrument made from a large gourd, which has a ridged board attached for rubbing with a stick, is the type I collected. Cavazzi pictures the double iron gong and the long drum held between the knees. He [782] also shows a rain-maker (p. 214) and the sacrifice of two hundred victims at the accession of a king (p. 210).

174 243 [113] Consideration of the history of maize in Africa is of importance in connection with these early writings, as this grain is the staple agricultural product of the Ovimbundu. I am indebted to Dr. Berthold Laufer for access to his unpublished research on this subject. From the following facts one may assume that, in all probability, the maize culture of the Ovimbundu was derived from the Congo region before their migration into the Benguela Highlands.

175 243 Father Jerome Merolla remarks that maize was growing in the neighborhood of San Salvador (1683-92). The native names were *mampunsi* and *massambuta;* from this corn an alcoholic beverage was prepared. According to Cavazzi (Ehrmann, Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen, XIII, 1794) maize was not intensively cultivated by the Negroes of lower Guinea, though it thrives well and may be [177] harvested twice or thrice a year. The natives said that the grain was brought by the Portuguese, but they did not esteem it highly, and were accustomed to use it as food for pigs.

Bosman (p. 312) records that prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, Negroes were entirely ignorant of milho ("maize"). The account of Duarte Lopez preserved by Filippo Pigafetta states that the Negroes consider maize the vilest of all grains, so that it is given to swine. This contempt and lack of knowledge of the food value, combined with ignorance of methods of preparation, suggest a recent introduction (Pigafetta, translation by M. Hutchinson, 1881, p. 40). Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 345) also mentions the cultivation of maize. Battell lived as prisoner in northern Angola about the year 1600, consequently his records of the use of the great Guinea wheat (maize), which the natives call *mas-imporro*, give early evidence for the use of this grain (Hakluyt Soc., 1901, pp. 9, 11, 67).

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The foregoing facts, when compared with field work among the Ovimbundu, indicate that the old culture of the Congo and northern Angola bears a strong resemblance to Umbundu culture at the present day. A more detailed analysis of this resemblance is made in chapter X.

The following notes dealing with exploration in Angola (1800–1930) are adduced for critical comparison with my own observations among the Ovimbundu.

The work of Sir R. F. Burton describing the exploration of Lacerda and other Portuguese pioneers, is more useful for geographical than for ethnological information. Lacerda's journey to Cazembe, south of Lake Moero, was performed in 1798. A mention of veneration for the dead and consultation of the deceased on all occasions of war or of good fortune, is made (p. 127). These are important points in the present tribal life of the Ovimbundu.

Bowditch (1824) writes from information given to him by Almeida and Saldanha. There are valuable references to the Vacilenge, a people adjacent to the Ovimbundu, who refused to kill their cattle, "rather than do which they will endure famine to extremity." This note was made about Long. 15° E. and Lat. 15° S. (p. 34). The cattle were milked, and cattle-raiding by the Ovimbundu was common at this time. Many present-day Ovimbundu do not milk their cattle, but the Vacilenge still follow their milking custom observed before 1824.

Livingstone's journey through northeast and northern Angola in 1853 contains references to the Vachokue who seemed bent on plunder (I, p. 370). Livingstone noted cotton spinning, which I recorded as an occupation of males of the Ovimbundu at Elende. Livingstone, like other early travelers, encountered caravans of Bihéans (Ovimbundu) bearing elephants' tusks and beeswax, commodities, which, along with slaves, formed the chief merchandise of these caravans from the Benguela Highlands (p. 466). Livingstone notes and sketches (Plate XIII, Fig. 10) the double-handled hoe (p. 442) which is still used.

J. J. Monteiro (I, p. 61) saw the poison ordeal administered. The poison itself was prepared from the thick hard bark of a large tree (*Erythrophlæum guineense*). The place of observation was Mongue Grande, just south of the Congo estuary, and again Monteiro was present when the poison cup was given to two women at Ambrisette. Of this ordeal there is more to be said when discussing the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu, because the ordeal is a basic factor of

171 wide distribution in Africa (C. Wiedemann, 1909) and the ceremony
●175 still survives among the Ovimbundu in modified form.

[114] Though an informative writer, Monteiro is sometimes vague; he says (I, p. 278) that circumcision is a universal custom among the blacks of Angola. In view of the extent of Angola, the diversity of tribes, and the fact that Monteiro traveled over only a small part of the country, this information is misleading.

Monteiro is the only writer in whose works I have found a reference to the Vasele tribe; probably no part of Angola has been so neglected as the Esele country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo. At the present day the Vasele have a reputation for cannibalism.
[266] Monteiro saw human flesh eaten at Cuacra, while the skulls of the victims were placed on adjacent trees. Monteiro states (II, p. 167) that on the death of a king the Mucelis (Vasele) put out all the fires in the kingdom; these were relighted by the succeeding king who
[321] used fire produced by rubbing two sticks together. The flat beads of shell called *dongue*, made from *Achatina monetaria* (II, p. 168), are made today and traded to the far south of Angola, where their novelty assures them a value far beyond their intrinsic worth. I was fortunate in obtaining an example of the old beheading ax mentioned by Monteiro (II, p. 157) and sketched by Cavazzi (p. 210). Par-
[262] boiled and roasted rats were offered to me as food; Monteiro mentions the offering of a roasted rat on a skewer (I, p. 99).

The account of Commander V. L. Cameron, who left Zanzibar for his journey across Africa in 1873, mentions several points of anthropological importance in relation to the Angolan section of his
[756] journey. Cameron saw a net-covered medicine-man of the Kibokue (Vachokue) wearing a mask and a kilt of grass (p. 384). The function
[524] of this man was to frighten devils from the woods. The contest in which boys discharge their arrows at a rolling root was seen by Cameron near Kagnombe (Cangamba?). Skulls of victims killed in
[787] war were spiked on poles (p. 399). The diviner was followed by attendants who struck iron gongs, while the diviner himself shook a rattle made of basket-work in the form of a dumb-bell (p. 404). Cameron gives an accurate description of the divination basket and its use without going into details. These I have been able to supply
[482] (chapter IX). The explorer met caravans of Bihéans, renowned carriers then as they are today. They were usually drunk and abusive; in some instances they attempted to rob the stragglers.
000 The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p. 416): "A man cut open

The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p. 416): "A man cut open a large cocoon, extracted the contents, and smacked his lips with great gusto." My field notes mention the use of caterpillars as food.

Capello and Ivens (1877–80) remark on the burial places of hunters which are distinguishable by the skulls of antelopes, buffalo, and hippopotamuses, stuck on upright poles, mixed with skulls of oxen killed in honor of the defunct. The writers noted that a heap of stones protected the body. I photographed two types of cairn in the regions of Ganda and Luimbale respectively. Capello and Ivens are not precise in their locality, but I judge it to have been Long. 17° E. and Lat. 13° S., a considerable distance from my own observations (Plates XXXII, Fig. 1; LXXIV, Fig. 1).

I photographed the stilt-walkers at the final stages of the initiation ceremonies at Cangamba. These men had no costumes; on the contrary they were almost naked but were covered with white clay. Capello and Ivens (p. 295), saw a stilt-walker with a feathered mask and a netting costume. Such attire I saw on an Uluchazi medicine-man, but not on the stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Figs. 1, 2).

I was unable to obtain information about the stilt-walkers, but Capello states that they castigated misdemeananta, punished shameless women, and accused criminals. Capello and Ivens were 187 miles to the northwest of my area of observation. The Uluchazi medicine-man, who appeared with the stilt-walkers during my visits, was said to make bad magic for women. The men ignored him but women gathered round in a derisive way; they quickly scattered when he pursued them.

Serpa Pinto, who made his journey across Angola in 1878, has so many references to customs and objects still extant, that I propose to tabulate his observations because of their value in showing the preservation of indigenous traits in spite of Portuguese contacts.

The body of a chief is buried with a covering of oxhide. Many oxen are sacrificed at the death of a king. The heir to the deceased is bound to sacrifice his whole herd in order to regale his people and give peace to the departed (S. Pinto, I, p. 63). The Ovimbundu conform at the present time to similar methods of burial and sacrifice.

Near Huambo, Serpa Pinto saw in every village a kind of "temple for conversation." This is the *onjango*, that I have described and photographed (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 1). It is the house in which all males foregather for the evening meal, which is brought by their women (I, p. 96).

The gathering and eating of caterpillars is described. This continues today (I, p. 120).

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175 [316] [325] Serpa Pinto saw shafts for the working of iron ore in the neighborhood of Cubango. The ore was mixed with charcoal and smelted in shallow pits. It is stated that the iron was sometimes tempered with ox-grease and salt. The bellows are of the type made at Elende (I, p. 128). Of the tempering process I have no confirmation.

175 787 [764] Somewhere near Bihé Serpa Pinto saw the ceremony of questioning a corpse which was made to sway to and fro, the people believing all the while that it does so without human intervention. The diviner declared that the soul of a dead person will tell who caused the death (I, p. 130). I observed and photographed this ceremony (Plate XLV, Fig. 1).

[695] The ordeal of the poison cup is described; blood-letting, and divination by shaking articles in a basket are also mentioned. Pinto says that in the articles that appear uppermost the diviner reads what his hearers are desirous of learning of the past, present, or future. Sorcery and rain-making are likewise briefly mentioned (I, p. 132). The divination basket, the poison ordeal, and rain-making, are Umbundu cultural traits today.

171 224 Here Pinto illustrates the existing practice of mounting the skulls of animals killed by a hunter on a pole in the village. There is a further reference to this custom among the Ambuellas (I, p. 333). These instances, combined with those personally noted, give a wide distribution for the practice (I, p. 177).

175 [304] Pinto saw the operation of tooth mutilation among the Luimba. The operation was performed with a knife which was struck by repeated light blows (I, p. 209).

[711] Pinto illustrates arrowheads in use in 1879 (I, pp. 277, 346). These are exactly the same as those made and used in 1929 (Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9).

[412] Axes used by the Luchazi are sketched with a detail that shows the old forms to persist without alteration (II, p. 36).

[321] Water-pipes made from horns and gourds by the Luina of eastern Angola are of the forms now used in that region, also by the Ovimbundu of the present day (II, pp. 33, 37).

175 114 For use in checking and supplementing my observations Serpa Pinto's book was found to be of the greatest service, though the precise locality was sometimes difficult to identify. This explorer, in common with others, scattered his ethnological observations among descriptions of the route and botanical, zoological, and other notes.

Lux traveled from Loanda due east, following the Kwanza on the northern bank between 9° and 10° S. Lat., and so into Lunda.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

He draws the crescentic arrowhead (p. 123) still common among the Ovimbundu and Vachokue; the double iron gong (p. 122); and the musical bow, which he calls a viola (p. 121). 175 114 [534]

Sogaur states that iron-working had an advanced technique at Dindo, more than half a century ago. According to Sogaur, the blacksmith was using scrap iron from European sources (II, p. 14). 175 326

Perhaps the most valuable of Chatelain's books is "Fifty Folk Tales of Angola." The stories are accompanied by translations and ethnological notes, the most important of which are references to the carrying of a corpse on a pole; the building of a cairn of stones over the corpse of a hunter; matrilineal descent and the power of the maternal uncle over the persons of his nieces and nephews (sisters' children). My observations included some details respecting the pawning of a sister's children to redeem the debts of their mother's brother. Chatelain adds that sisters' children are successors to private property and chieftainship (pp. 8–10). My notes agree that property is inherited by children of a deceased man's sister, but my informants said that a new chieftain is normally the eldest son of the principal wife of the dead chief. Chatelain's folklore stories, fifty in number, relate chiefly to animals; this was the only kind of story told to me, but W. C. Bell has recorded a few tales of another type. 173 [114] [764] [611] [604] [428] [538]

Marquardsen (1928) devotes only one-fourth of his book to the ethnology of Angola, which he treats in a very general way; there is no section dealing specifically with any particular tribe. The author calls attention to Chapman's observation of rock paintings of South African Bushman type, between Cuma and Luimbale in northwest Angola. I have elsewhere remarked on the occasional occurrence of physical types which show a strain of Bushman blood. Today Bushmen penetrate southern Angola from the Kalahari (Plate LXIX, Figs. 1, 2), but their presence in times past or present does not affect the course of history or the data of ethnology to an appreciable extent. 114 177 [531] [144]

Marquardsen gives some notes of a general kind on Vaheneca, Mahuila and other tribes of southwest Angola. The suggestion is feasible that the Umbundu name Suku, for a supreme being, is the same as the Nzambi of Lunda and the Congo. Marquardsen refers to the importance of the maternal uncle in Umbundu society, to the poison ordeal, and to the burial of an Umbundu chief in oxhide, all of which points were recorded in my observations at Elende. 114 101

Ferreira Diniz's book is unobtainable, but, judging from the summary given in *Anthropos* (XX, 1925, pp. 321–331), the information was collected by a questionnaire widely distributed among adminis-

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

114 trative posts. I agree that people between Caconda and Huila
101 represent a racial mixture of the Ovimbundu and the Ovambo. The record speaks of painting-houses for girls at Cabinda, an item which agrees with reports from other sources. The jottings concerning tribes from Cabinda to the far south of Angola are too vague to be used in ethnological work with confidence.

There are many points on which the work of A. Schachtzabel should be consulted for the purpose of making comparisons with my
[621] own observations. The chief of these are a note and photograph on
[281] village construction (p. 130); the musical bow (p. 32); the loom
[175] (plate VI); transmigration of the soul of a chief into an animal (p. 51);
[524] and the game of mancala (p. 52). My observations of initiation at
[881] Katoko, Ngalangi, and Cangamba agree well with that of Schachtzabel at Katoko, but I was able to obtain more detail and more
[283] numerous photographs of the ritual of initiation. The spinning of cotton (p. 143) is exactly the process so frequently witnessed now at Elende. Iron-working (p. 111) appears to be comparable with the technique at Elende, but Schachtzabel seems to have missed the ritual. I was not so fortunate as this author in finding the old type of iron-smelting furnace in use.

114 The work of Statham is devoted primarily to hunting and descrip-
136 tions of plant and animal life. The chapter given to a casual description of people among whom he passed is not useful as ethnology; but the book is of service in providing a background of natural history. Information on the tsetse fly in Angola (p. 294) assists ethnological work by showing the determining effect of this biological factor.
[231] Presence of the fly is prohibitive to cattle-keeping, therefore cattle are not kept along the river courses which are infested with this pest.

114 Alexander Barns made no pretence of writing more than a travel book; nevertheless he publishes photographs of ethnological value, gives useful historical summaries, and deals with economic problems of production and transportation.

114 Tucker's book "Drums in the Darkness," though written to
175 interest the American public in mission work, contains many ethnological statements. The chief of these relate to the structure of the compound (p. 37); the dress of women (p. 39); naming of twins and triplets; and other items which agree well with data from the district in which I worked. There are notes on drum signals (p. 74) and
[202] cannibalism (p. 77). Apparently drum signals were in use at Bihé half a century ago. Forty years ago a slave was killed and eaten
[266] at the installation ceremonies for a new king, a point that was noted

3:Hambly E-5 (1929-1930)1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

in the works of Battell, Cavazzi, and other early writers. A description of the whipping of boys at initiation (p. 99) agrees with my own records, but details of the period and place are not given by Tucker. Questioning a corpse (p. 102) is a ceremony I have witnessed and described, but the instance referred to by Tucker relates to the interrogation of the corpse of a chief with regard to his choice of a successor; there are laws of succession, but these may be waived. The ceremony described in my monograph was conducted to discover the cause of death and not to determine succession. If Tucker has any detailed information with regard to puberty ceremonies for girls his reticence is regrettable (p. 142). Tucker says that suicide among women is common (p. 143). A mention of *ocisunji*, a feast for spirits at which meat is offered to idols, is interesting (p. 168) but details are lacking, and the use of the word idols is ambiguous. The information respecting use of charms is corroborative of my own observations in two other centers, Elende and Ngalangi.

The most recent publication on the ethnology of Angola is that of F. and W. Jaspert of the Städtisches Völkermuseum, Frankfort, 1930. Their journey was undertaken primarily to make collections for a museum, but linguistic and ethnological information was recorded among several tribes, notably the Kimbundu, Vachokue, Luchazi, Luimba, and Kusongo. The farthest point attained in a southerly direction was just north of Kipungo, and the general line of march was from Benguela to the northeast, into Lunda. There is very little overlapping in the work of the Jasperts and myself. My itinerary took me to the extreme south into the Vakuanyama country, and to the far east of Moxico among the Vachokue.

My work is presented as a monograph on the Ovimbundu only, and of their culture I treat exclusively, with some reference to the culture contacts observed on all sides of them. The Jasperts do not give an entire section to any one tribe; but combine their information respecting the tribes in a concurrent way, under such subjects as technology, language, and art.

If the sections relating to history and languages are excluded there remain a hundred pages, only one-sixth of which refer to the Ovimbundu; but there is a difficulty in reading through the book without being confused as to the tribe and exact locality under discussion.

The pages devoted to a comparative vocabulary form an important part of the work, and one which I barely touched, though I prepared an outline of Umbundu grammar and made dictaphone records of the

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CHAPTER I

THE OLD SOCIETY

1. *History*

The Ovimbundu, who live on the Benguela Highland[1] of central Angola, have been in contact with Europeans since their emergence as a people in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Dr. Childs has provided an excellent account of their history,[2] based on the collection of traditional narratives and a study of the published sources in English, German, and Portuguese.

The Ovimbundu arose from a fusion of two stocks, one that of the 'Jagas', a conquering race who invaded the Benguela Highland in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, and the indigenous occupants of the area who were culturally and linguistically related to the peoples who now live in south-west Angola.[3] The Jagas were described in some detail by the English sailor Andrew Battell[4] who was their prisoner for some time at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He tells us that they were warlike cannibals who recruited their numbers by taking adolescents from the peoples they conquered.[5] This society did not reproduce itself normally by descent since all children born were put to death.[6] He locates them geographically in the Amboim–Cela–Quibala area[7] to the north of the present Umbundu territory. Cavazzi writing in the later seventeenth

[1] In Portuguese, Planalto de Benguela.
[2] Childs, pp. 164–215.
[3] Ibid. p. 190.
[4] Ravenstein (Ed.). *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell.* Hakluyt Society, London 1901.
[5] Ravenstein, p. 33.
[6] Ibid. p. 32.
[7] Ibid. pp. 84, 85; Childs, p. 86.

[p. xviii is blank - Analyst]

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century gives a broadly similar account,[8] among other information giving us the titles of some of the Umbundu ministers, thus Mani-Curio resembles Mwekalia, and Tendala Tjandala.[9] In the same period the Jagas appear in what is now southern Umbundu country.[10] According to Baumann[11] and Estermann[12] they raided and conquered some of the south-western people of the Nyaneka-Humbi group. At the end of the eighteenth century the Jagas and the Ovimbundu still formed distinctive groups, and in the nineteenth century the word Jaga was still used to refer to the Umbundu rulers.[13]

Ethnologists have shown much interest in the question of the origin and subsequent travels of the Jagas.[14] Battell tells us that in a Jaga camp of several thousand persons there would be only twelve or fourteen persons who were of original Jaga stock, the rest recruited *en marche*.[15] There is some evidence to show that the core of some at least of the Jaga hordes were Lunda from the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo. Thus the Imbangala people of Cassange[16] claim to have originated from the migrants from the Northern Lunda kingdom. Both Battell at the beginning of the seventeenth century and Pinheiro de Lacerda at the end of the eighteenth tell us that the Jaga called themselves Imbangala.[17] The Hungarian explorer L. Magyar collected in the

[8] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Etiopie occidentale*. Paris 1732. (Translated from the Italian original of Cavazzi.) For the Jagas see Vol. II, pp. 88–303. On infanticide see pp. 114–15, which states that all children born inside a camp and male children born outside a camp were put to death. Presumably female children born outside a camp were spared. Cadornega states that a woman was forbidden under pain of death to give birth in a camp. Is this simply a purification taboo which Battell mistook for a rule of general infanticide? Battell seems fairly reliable, and it is possible that there had been a change of custom between Battell's contacts in about 1600, when the Jagas were simply nomadic raiders, and Cadornega's contacts of about 1670–80, when they were ruling settled states. There is some evidence for such a change in Cavazzi-Labat, who dates it around 1648.

[9] Childs, p. 187.

[10] Ibid. p. 195.

[11] H. Baumann, *Paideuma*, April 1936, pp. 118–51.

[12] C. Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola* Vol. II (Lisbon 1957), pp. 26–29.

[13] Childs, p. 188 and sources cited there.

[14] Ravenstein, Introduction; Childs, pp. 181–90.

[15] Ravenstein, p. 33.

[16] F. Travassos Valdez. *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*, London, 1861. Vol. II, Chapter V.

[17] Ravenstein, p. 84; P. M. de Lacerda in *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes* 3a serie, p. 486 ff.

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middle of the nineteenth century, in the eastern Umbundu kingdom of Bie, an historical legend which linked Bie origins to the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo.[18] Childs has suggested[19] that this legend was in fact not of Umbundu origin since later investigators from Serpa Pinto[20] (1878) to Childs himself (1938) have found that Bie traditions emphasized the local origins of the dynasty. This may of course be a case of the African tendency to manipulate historical narratives to accord with social relationships. It may be suggested that the Lunda traditions, which the core of the Jaga hordes carried with them, became diluted by the recruitment from the conquered peoples, and that the link between the Umbundu royal houses and the Northern Lunda were forgotten because the kings of the Ovimbundu felt no need, unlike the weak Luena and Ndembu chiefs,[21] to prop up their position by stressing their links with the mighty Mwata Yamvo.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Umbundu kingdoms that were to survive until the end of Umbundu independence were already well established.[22] In 1769 the first Portuguese fort in the Benguela Highland, that at Caconda, was established, and a few years later a king of Bie was to owe his throne to Portuguese intervention.[23] Trade in slaves had begun with the Jagas; but other items such as beeswax and ivory were bought by the bare-footed Kimbundu traders who came from the Portuguese settlements on the Cuanza (founded between 1582 and 1671); and by 1782 there existed small colonies of Portuguese traders in Bie and Caconda.[24]

Portuguese political influence was weak, and the kings con-

[18] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Sud-Afrika*, Pest and Leipzig, 1859, pp. 266–269.
[19] Childs, p. 173.
[20] A. Serpa Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, London, 1881. Vol. I, pp. 156–60.
[21] For Luena and Ndembu chiefs, see C. M. N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization' (*Africa*, January 1957), and V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*, Manchester, 1957. For African attitudes to the recording of the past see J. A. Barnes, 'History in a Changing Society'. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 1951, No. 11, Ian Cunnison, *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 21, and L. Bohannan, 'A Genealogical Charter', *Africa*, October 1952. Mr. White informs me that the Luena regard the Bie kingdom as being of Northern Lunda origin.
[22] Childs, pp. 167–8.
[23] Ibid., pp. 174, 195.
[24] Ibid., p. 198.

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tinued to engage in warfare. However, trade became increasingly important as the Ovimbundu realized the advantage of their position in between the coastal towns of Benguela and Catumbela, and the tribes of the interior. By the middle of the nineteenth century Ovimbundu were travelling throughout the area bounded by the Congo River, the Great Lakes and the Kalahari, and even transcontinental journeys were made. The Ovimbundu carried with them cloths, guns, and rum which they exchanged for ivory, slaves, and wax, to which must be added corn and palm-oil, these latter, however, obtained not from the far interior but from inside or near Umbundu land. The safety of the Umbundu caravans was preserved by the negotiation of treaties with the local rulers, and by agreements (not always satisfactorily kept) between the different Umbundu kingdoms.[25]

From about 1874 rubber became important in Umbundu trade, and it is in the period from then until 1911,[26] when the caravan trade collapsed, that the Ovimbundu knew a prosperity which they have hardly recovered today.[27] It is in this period too that there occurred both the loss of Umbundu independence and the establishment of the missions. In 1890 Ndunduma, the king of Bie, was defeated and deposed, and in 1896 Numa, the king of Bailundo attacked, disastrously, the fort which his predecessors had allowed to be established near the capital. In 1902–3 a widespread revolt, known as the Bailundo war, broke out against the Portuguese, the traders being killed, and the forts besieged. The reasons for this revolt, whose leader Mutuya-Kevela was a minister of the Bailundo court, seem to have been injustices on the part of the white population, and possibly a fall in rubber prices. After 1903 the remaining parts of Umbundu country were brought under effective European rule,

[25] Magyar, pp. 292–9; Childs, pp. 203–5.

[26] Childs following A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910, pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–5, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–85) divides the rubber trade into three periods: the rise of the trade 1874–86, the boom 1886–1900, and the decline 1900–11.

[27] I have heard it said by old men who had taken part in the caravan journeys, and by a local mulatto trader that the Ovimbundu of that period had more clothes than they have now. For Angolan economics after 1911 see Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, *Império Ultramarino Português*, Vol. III, pp. 124–39, Lisboa, 1932, and Clement Egerton, *Angola in Perspective*, London, 1957, pp. 106–19.

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and the European population greatly increased.[28] In some areas at this time a confused situation arose, in which 'robber barons', white and black, tyrannized over chiefs and villagers and engaged in the still vigorous slave trade, which now had acquired a few disguises on the coast.[29]

In 1911 the rubber trade ended, and about the same time slavery and the slave trade were effectively suppressed.[30] From this time onwards, too, civil administration began to be effective and the Benguela Railway became the most important link between the coast and the interior.[31] The trade disappeared, powers of the chiefs declined. The missions, both Catholic and Protestant, which had relatively little influence during the rubber trade period, gained more and more converts.[32]

2. *Ethnography*

Between the Ovimbundu and the sea lie the Hanya, the Nganda, and the Tjisanji tribes of whom little is known except that the Hanya and Nganda seem to be culturally related to the Ovimbundu.[33] To the south are the Nyaneka-Humbi group, cattle-keeping peoples who are culturally and linguistically related to the Ovimbundu, but who did not participate in the trade.[34] To the east lie the Ngangela[35], the Luimbi, and the

[28] Childs, pp. 210–11.

[29] For an account of Umbundu country at this time see H. W. Nevison, *A Modern Slavery*, New York, 1906. In Gumba I was told that Mutu-ya-Kevela the leader of the 1902–3 revolt had raided villages for slaves but that Samakaka whom Childs (p. 22) describes as a robber baron was spoken of favourably.

[30] Slavery had been legally suppressed from 1878. The slaves were called by other names but no effective change was made till 1910. See A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910 (pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–55, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–5).

[31] Childs, p. 228.

[32] Ibid., pp. 220–23. Personal information.

[33] Ibid., p. 8.

[34] On these peoples see Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, Vol. II.

[35] A tribe using this word as the root of the tribal name is to be found to the south-east of Umbundu country in the area round Vila Artur de Paiva. Padre A. Van Horrik, formerly of the Missão Católica de Cubango, tells me that the map contained in M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, (London, 1951) should show the Ngangela as occupying much of the area actually assigned to the Mbwela and the south-eastern Ovimbundu. Mbwela does not seem to be the name any tribe uses for itself (Private information, Estermann and Van Horrik).

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switching to Umbundu or Portuguese for addressing an African, whereas Portuguese is the language used at the Catholic missions even between non-Portuguese.

A M 797

The African Catholic priests then have approximate equality and identity of status with their white confreres within the hierarchic framework of the diocese of Nova Lisboa; the Ovimbundu pastors lack this equality and identity but instead possess greater independence and opportunities for leadership within the Umbundu Native Church, which functions as a partly autonomous body.[19] The difference in functions of the priests and pastors is related to the ultimate aims of missionary action; for the Catholic missions the establishment of a local clergy is part of the complete incorporation of Ovimbundu into the universal Church; for the Protestants the establishment of a local clergy is part of the building up of a totally independent local church.

M 121

I attempt later in this work to show what roles the missions play in social life among the Ovimbundu and in the relations between the 'civilized' and native population. Here it should be noted that it is the missions rather than commerce or the Government which have opened status-giving positions to the Ovimbundu. The clergy have higher statuses in the total Angolan society than do any other of the *assimilados*. They combine this high status *vis-à-vis* the Europeans with leadership in groupings which include the ordinary villagers, unlike the various welfare societies in which the *assimilados* associate.

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So much then for the general pattern of cities, communications, and trains, of administration, missionaries, and traders. I now turn to the particular features of the neighbourhood where I lived. Bimbe is said to derive from the name of a princess (Mbimbi) who ruled as a vassal of the king of Bailundo.[20] Here at the beginning of this century Samakaka, a

M 101 175

[19] The missions provide supervision and specialist services including agricultural instruction, community development, education, and health. Village work and actual pastoral activity is the responsibility of the Native Church. For an account of such specialist services see M. F. Cushmann, *Missionary Doctor in Africa*, New York, 1944 and A. Strangeways in *African Women* (June 1956).

M [562]

[20] Information obtained locally from 'civilized' people. Princesses were very rare among the Ovimbundu, though Childs notes that Samboe (Sambu) had a woman ruler early in its history (p. 178).

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'robber-baron', established himself[21] and in 1904 there was a minor rising against the Portuguese[22] (not to be confused with the very extensive Bailundo war of 1902–3). In 1908 the government post was founded for Bimbe, and in 1928 the Catholic Mission was established at the point where the Bailundo Mission had the furthest flung catechetical school in that direction. In 1927 the first trader had settled at Chicunda.[23] The areas under the mission and the post do not coincide, but it may be said that Bimbe is the territory bounded on the west by the River Cuvo or Keve and on the east by the main road from Bailundo to Gabela. The southern boundary of the post ran roughly on a line between the post and the Ponte Salazar (which bridges the Cuvo (or Keve) and takes the road into Cassongue), and the northern boundary is formed by a parallel line drawn from the road some way to the south of Cela to the river. In 1956 the post of Bimbe was divided; much of the western part including the Mission was placed under a new post Luvemba.

Chicunda is twenty kilometres beyond the mission, and seven kilometres beyond Chicunda a turning from the main track brings one to the village of Epalanga. Keeping on the track, a further bifurcation, say two and a half kilometres on, gives a track to the left which leads to a small leper colony, and a track leading straight on and sharply upwards to the village of the chief of Gumba.

This village lies at the summit of a sharp ridge which rises up from the ordinary level and then drops abruptly to a neighbourhood inaccessible to motor transport, which forms the greater part of the Gumba chiefdom. The boundary on the other side is a river across which lies Cela.

Such is the lay-out of the area studied. It is up in the north-western corner of the Umbundu country, indeed down by the Mission, people said that the people of Gumba were not Ovimbundu really but 'Olongoya', as the peoples to the north are termed. Many of the people in Gumba had come from

[21] Childs, p. 22.

[22] Information obtained locally. I did not see official records.

[23] Information obtained locally.

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CONCLUSIONS

The phrase 'A Study of Social Control and Social Change among the Ovimbundu' implies an analysis of the working of the social maintenance mechanism in a period of social change. The concept appears almost paradoxical since it seems that effective maintenance machinery[1] would prevent social change, and rapid social change is often associated by anthropologists with a situation of individual and social demoralization and disintegration.[2] At the present time the Ovimbundu of the area where fieldwork was done have undergone very rapid social change and have a reasonably effective system of social control, which, however, differs considerably from the traditional system. To confirm these statements, I briefly summarize the material provided in previous chapters.

In the time of the rubber trade (1874–1911) there existed a number of Umbundu kingdoms. The king, assisted and checked, as elsewhere in Africa by titled ministers, was responsible for external relations, undertook certain rituals, and provided a supreme court of appeal where trials were conducted by set rules of procedure. The real unit of law, as regards Gumba at least, seems to have been the sub-chiefdom, with its few thousand inhabitants, governed by a chief who like the king had to administer justice together with his councillors.

This body of councillors included the village headmen who were the heads of bodies of agnatic kin. They had general legal and political responsibility for the village. While the disputes arising in village relations were kept within the patrilineal kin group, the problems arising from the inheritance of movable goods and particularly from the highly important caravan trade were dealt with in the matrilineal group. Owing to the dispersed nature of this group and to its commercial preoccupations the sanctions operating within it must have differed somewhat from those found at the chief's court or village men's

[1] For this term see S. F. Nadel, *Theory of Social Structure*, London, 1957, p. 55.
[2] e.g. G. and M. Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge, 1945.

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house. Wealthy members who did not assist their kin were liable to be accused of sorcery. A mother's brother had the right to sell his sister's son as punishment for the latter's misconduct or to pay his own debts, a sanction counterbalancing the rights of the poorer matrilineal kin to receive loans without the obligation of repayment. As the matrilineal groups existed apparently across sub-chiefdom boundaries they formed a means of social control in those trading activities which provided the major focus of Umbundu interests and which flowed over the boundaries of the political groupings whose smallest unit was the patrilineally based village.

The disappearance of the matrilineal kin groups must be associated with the collapse of the old economy, and to judge from my difficulty in getting information about them their disintegration must have come about fairly rapidly after the end of the trade. Authority within the sub-chiefdom and village remained at a level fairly near the traditional norm till about 1935. After that social change has rapidly dissolved most of the traditional institutions.

The existing system of social control depends on political, local, and kinship systems very different from those previously operative. Cases are very often taken to the post without being previously taken to the chief. The latter's position is a combination of executive of the orders of the post (a role he shares with the government headman) with the surviving prestige represented by the skulls of his predecessors and the ministerial titles allocated to his kinsmen and associates. While the chief and government headmen may settle minor cases, they do not operate any system of courts by which disputes can be regularly and satisfactorily settled.

Judicial power has been effectively transferred from the indigenous society to the 'civilized' community and for a dispute to be brought to a settlement a decision must be obtained from some 'civilized' person or a negotiated arrangement may be made under threat of referring the matter to the post. Considerable importance therefore attaches to the mobilization of ties with some 'civilized' person who may be an employer but is most frequently the mission, which to some degree acts as a patron for all natives. Hence the local